

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05  
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02  
SS-15 ICA-11 ACDA-12 SSM-03 OMB-01 TRSE-00 HA-05  
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R 121902Z APR 78  
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7909  
INFO AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA  
AMEMBASSY AMMAN  
USINT BAGHDAD  
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT  
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY KHARTOUM  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

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E.O. 11652: NA  
TAGS: EG  
SUBJECT: AL-AHALI, WITH HAYKAL'S AID, TAKES ON SADAT  
- AND PEACE PROCESS WHILE PRAISING NASSER'S RULE

SUMMARY: APRIL 12 LEFTIST AL-AHALI FEATURED FULL-PAGE  
INTERVIEW WITH HAYKKL, IN WHICH NASSER CONFIDENTLY  
STRONGLY DEFENDED HIS MENTOR'S REGIME AND EXPLICITLY  
CRITICIZED SADAT AND CURRENT GOVERNMENT. IT WAS  
HAYKAL'S FIRST APPEARANCE ON EGYPTIAN NEWSSTANDS IN  
YEARS, AND IS DRAWING SIGNIFICANT PUBLIC AS WELL AS  
GOVERNMENTAL ATTENTION. ACCORDING HAYKAL, CENTER PARTY  
REPRESENTS ONLY THOSE WHO HAVE MADE FORTUNES AS RESULT  
OPEN DOOR POLICY.-FORTUNES DEPOSITED OUTSIDE EGYPT.  
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ON FOREIGN POLICY, HAYKAL DENIED NASSER ALLOWED SOVIETS  
FREE HAND IN EGYPT AND REFUTED ACCUSATIONS RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM.  
FINALLY, HAYKAL IMPLICITLY CALLED FOR UNIFICATION OF NASSERITES  
AND LEFTISTS. SECOND INSTALLMENT PROMISED FOR NEXT WEEK. IN  
ADDITION INTERVIEW, AL-AHALI HIT SADAT REGIME FOR CONSTRAINTS  
ON PRESS AND FAILURE ESTABLISH STATE OF INSTITUTIONS.

ONGOING LEFTIST TRIAL TERMED UNCONSTITUTIONAL. CONTINUATION OF DIALOGUE WITH ISRAEL SCORED; PURSUIT OF PEACE INITIATIVE FRUITLESS. END SUMMARY

1. HAYKAL. APRIL 12 AL-AHALI CONTAINED FULL PAGE "INTERVIEW" WITH FORMER AHRAH BOARD CHAIRMAN (AND NASSER CONFIDANT) MUHAMMAD HAYKAL. STYLE OF QUESTIONS INDICATES HAYKAL FORMULATED BOTH Q'S AND A'S. HE BEGAN BY NOTING THAT WHILE NO ONE OFFICIALLY INFORMED HIM HE PROHIBITED WRITE, HE "GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND" THAT HE SHOULD NOT DO SO. CLAIMED HE REMOVED FROM AHRAH NOT BECAUSE HE REPRESENTED "CENTER OF POWER" (NOTING HE REMAINED IN OFFICE UNTIL 1974) BUT BECAUSE HIS ARTICLES "CONSTITUTED A PROBLEM." HAYKAL CLAIMED ON VERY DAY HE LEFT AHRAH HE WAS OFFERED POSITION OF PRESIDENTIAL ADVISER AND YEAR LATER WAS ASKED TO BECOME DEPUTY PM FOR INFORMATION UNDER SALEM. HAYKAL NOTED HE HAS CONTINUED EXERCISE RIGHT TO WRITE IN NUMBER OF ARAB PAPERS, BUT POINTED OUT THESE JOURNALS NOT DISTRIBUTED IN EGYPT. INTER ALIA, HAYKAL DENIED ELIMINATION OF CENTERS OF POWER REPRESENTED "REVOLUTION", ALTHOUGH HE ADMITTED IT A "CORRECTIVE MOVE".

2. CURRENT LEADERSHIP. HAYKAL CLAIMED HE CAN NOT UNDERSTAND CURRENT CONDITIONS. CLASS IN POWER UNRELATED TO PRODUCTION. CENTER PARTY REPRESENTS ONLY THOSE WHO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EMERGED AS RESULT OPEN DOOR POLICY, WHO HAVE NO AFFILIATION EXCEPT THEIR OWN INTERESTS. MOST, HE CLAIMED, HAVE MADE FORTUNES IN EGYPT--AND DEPOSITED SAME OUTSIDE COUNTRY.

3. NASSER. ATTACK ON NASSER, SAID HAYKAL, DIRECTED AGAINST HIS PRINCIPLES, THOUGHTS, AND POLICIES. DEEMED THIS "A MORAL MISTAKE". SAID CAMPAIGN DEPICTED EGYPT UNDER NASSER AS NAZI DETENTION CAMP. HAYKAL SAID HE CRITICIZED GOVERNMENT DURING NASSER ERA ON "RULE OF LAW, STATE OF INSTITUTIONS, AND OPEN SOCIETY." NASSER, REPORTEDLY, DID NOT OBJECT. HAYKAL ADMITTED VIOLATIONS OCCURRED, BUT STATED "CAMPAIGN OF SLANDER" AIMED AT SHAKING PEOPLES' CONFIDENCE IN EVERYTHING ACHIEVED UNDER NASSER. THOSE LEVELING ACCUSATIONS "WANT TO PULL DOWN EVERYTHING." CALLED FOR AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION TO ASCERTAIN WHAT TRANSPIRED DURING PERIOD.

4. SEQUESTRATION. ON SEQUESTRATION, HAYKAL CLAIMED MAJORITY AFFECTED WERE JEWS AND MEASURES WERE TAKEN FOR REAL POLITICAL REASONS. OPINED IT "REGRETABLE"

SOME NOW RETURNING TO RECOVER THEIR INTERESTS IN FULL.  
ADMITTED SOME PURELY EGYPTIAN PROPERTY SEQUESTERED  
FOR "SOCIAL REASONS" AND AGREED THIS SUBJECT TO  
CONTROVERSY. AGAIN, HAYKAL ADVOCATED IMPARTIAL  
INVESTIGATION.

5. SOVIETS. HAYKAL NOTED MOST EXCESSES DURING NASSER'S  
REGIME COMMITTED AGAINST COMMUNISTS. NASSER ACCUSED  
OF PLACING EGYPT BEHIND IRON CURTAIN, OF HANDING  
COUNTRY TO SOVIETS, DESPITE FACT HIS PRIMARY CONCERN  
WAS EGYPTIAN SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE. EGYPT,  
ACCORDING HAYKAL, WAS NEVER SO OPEN TO WORLD AS IT WAS  
UNDER NASSER. OFFERED EXAMPLES OF 1958, WHEN EGYPT

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TRANSFERRED 250 STUDENTS FROM SOVIET UNIVERSITIES TO  
AMERICA FOLLOWING DISAGREEMENT OVER THEIR TREATMENT  
IN USSR, AND 1972, WHEN SADAT EXPELLED SOVIET ADVISERS.  
ON ADVISERS, HAYKAL NOTED, EGYPT HAD PRESSED SOVIETS  
HARD WHILE USSR HESITATED "1001 TIMES." RHETORICALLY  
CONCLUDED "WHAT KIND OF IMPERIALISM IS THIS?"

6. LEFTISTS/NASSERISTS. FINALLY, HAYKAL POSITED THAT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NASSERISTS AND LEFTISTS DUE TO "OLD COMPLEXES" AND CLICHES. SAID IF THESE SETTLED ONLY METHOD AND RELIGION WOULD SEPARATE GROUPS. (THIS REFERENCE WILL BE READ AS APPEAL TO NASSERISTS NOT TO FORM OWN PARTY BUT TO JOIN FORCES WITH LEFT.)

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7. MORE ATTACKS. ELSEWHERE IN PAPER, AL-AHALI CRITICIZED PRESS LAW IN DETAIL, ALLEGING EGYPTIAN JOURNALISTS NOT FREE--SADAT HAS FAILED ESTABLISH STATE OF INSTITUTIONS. IN PARTICULAR, GOVERNMENT'S REFERRAL OF SECURITY TRIALS TO MILITARY COURTS TERMED "UNCONSTITUTIONAL." ISRAELI DEFENSE MINISTER WEIZMAN DESCRIBED AS NO DIFFERENT THAN BEGIN; THERE NO POINT IN CONTINUING DIALOGUE; FURTHER PURSUIT OF PEACE INITIATIVE FRUITLESS. FINALLY, PAPER POINTEDLY CARRIED PICTURE OF LEFTIST PARTY LEADER MOHIE EL DIN HUGGING FORMER AMBASSADOR GHALEB, WHO RESIGNED FROM POST IN BELGRADE IN PROTEST OVER SADAT INITIATIVE.

8. COMMENT: THIS IS FIRST TIME HAYKAL HAS APPEARED IN AN EGYPTIAN PAPER SINCE 1974. THAT IN ITSELF IS DEEMED NOTEWORTHY. AL-AHALI, ORGAN OF LEFTIST PARTY, HAS BEEN EXCEPTIONALLY SUCCESSFUL IN TERMS OF INCREASING CIRCULATION AND THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN WILLING TO WRITE FOR IT SINCE ITS INCEPTION SOME TWO MONTHS AGO. HAYKAL'S READINESS PUBLISH IN AL-AHALI MAY WELL BE A PROBE TO ASCERTAIN GOVT REACTION. IF GOE DOES NOT REACT, HAYKAL WILL HAVE A LOCAL MOUTHPIECE IN WHICH TO CONTINUE TO VOICE HIS VIEWS. GOE'S EFFORTS DISCREDIT HAYKAL DURING PAST SEVERAL YEARS HAVE BEEN ONLY MINIMALLY SUCCESSFUL. HE REMAINS A RESPECTED WRITER, NOT ONLY IN EGYPT BUT IN ARAB WORLD, AND THIS LATEST ATTACK ON SADAT'S POLICIES WILL HURT THE PRESIDENT HERE AND ABROAD. IT SUGGESTS HAYKAL SHARES THE VIEW OF SOME LEFTIST AND NASSERITE PARTY MEMBERS THAT SADAT IS ON THE ROPES AND THAT THIS SHOULD BE EXPLOITED.

POSTSCRIPT: WE MAY HAVE OUR ANSWER TO ONE OF QUESTIONS POSED ABOVE. ACCORDING AFP, GOE AUTHORITIES SEIZED LAST ISSUE OF AL-AHALI FOR PUBLISHING HAYKAL INTERVIEW. WE

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ARE CHECKING TO SEE WHETHER THIS IS IN FACT SO. EILTS

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** SOPN, PGOV, EG, (HAYKAL, MUHAMMAD HASANAYN)  
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